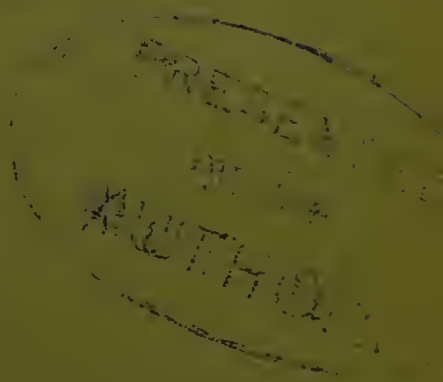
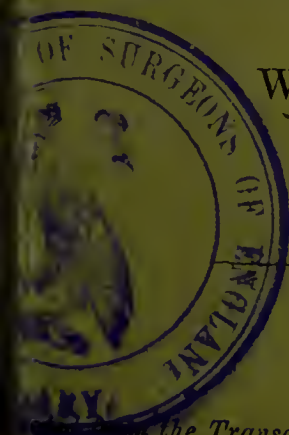


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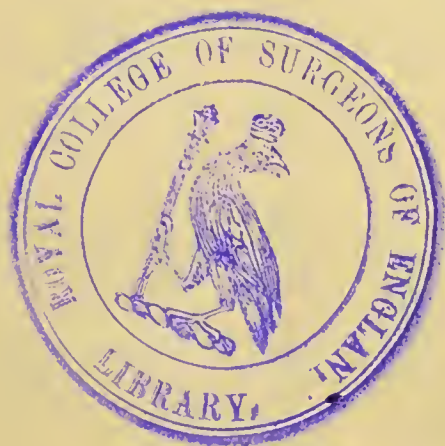
T. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL,
SOUTHWARK,

FOUNDATION CIRCA 1200 TO 1553.

W. RENDLE.



[From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature.]





ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL, FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO 1553.

CHIEFLY FROM A MANUSCRIPT BOOK IN THE LIBRARY
OF THE EARL OF ASHBURNHAM, NOW IN THE
BRITISH MUSEUM.

BY W. RENDLE.

[Read November 29, 1882.]

I WILL ask you to accompany me over London
bridge to the Southwark side of the river, that I
may show you, as well as I am able, the people of
some six hundred years ago, and a prominent insti-
tution there, a charity, which began about 1200 or
before, and has come down with varying fortunes to
our own times—the same with a difference now
forming a wide architectural feature on the banks of
the Thames opposite our houses of Parliament: I
mean St. Thomas's Hospital.

Southwark is reputed to be a somewhat dirty
suburb of London, in which chiefly poor people live,
and many foul and disagreeable trades are carried on.
It was not always so; at the time I am noting, and
three or four hundred years after, Dukes, Earls,
Bishops, Abbots, and great Ministers of
State had their homes there—some fifty at least
might be named. In those times sweating sickness
and plague achieved a far higher mortality than the
filth, water, drainage, and over-crowding of our own
times have ever permitted or fostered. The *per*

contra consideration for us moderns, in that we have lost all our nobles, ecclesiastical and lay, is, that if we get our living by trade and hard work, rather than by diplomatic and predatory work, as most of the great folk I have referred to did, it involves this fact, that some 220,000 people, at least, live and work, where before only some ten or twenty thousands lived.

The paper I am permitted to bring before you is gathered almost entirely from manuscripts, the contents of which have, as yet, either not at all or very partially seen the light.¹

The Earl of Ashburnham has most kindly placed at the Public Record Office, for my leisurely inspection, a beautifully written volume of some 600 pages, of the time of Henry VII or VIII; it was formerly in the Stowe Library, and was catalogued in the sale of that collection as the Parochial Register of St. Mary Overy in Southwark, a title repeated without amendment in the eighth Report² of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. The title is wrong: it is in no sense a parochial register. The book really concerns the foundation of St. Thomas's Hospital, early in the thirteenth century, by Bishop Peter de Rupibus, its reconstruction in 1507, and a detailed account of property left for its use. The title and description given to the book, so different from the reality, leads me to hope that a veritable parochial register may turn up.

I am in common gratitude bound to say that the

¹ But see the references "Book of Muniments," note α, p. 615, Manning and Bray's "Surrey," vol. iii.

² Appendix III, p. 29, α.

volume so liberally lent would have availed me very little—for the writing, although clear and plain, is much of it in obsolete and abbreviated Latin, and is in the Norman French of the law courts—but that I happily found, at the Public Record Office, a very good friend indeed in Mr. Selby, who opened for me the valuable stores in this volume, and explained much that was obscure.

Other and later MSS. relating to St. Thomas's Hospital, have been within my reach—the business records of weekly meetings of governors during more than 200 years from and after 1561, MSS. in the British Museum, and one from 1569 to 1574, in my own possession.

In the necessarily limited time at my disposal this evening I can make but little use of anything more than that contained in Lord Ashburnham's volume. In it are described, page by page, persons and processes concerned in the foundation of the hospital, and in the transfer of property to it. There are topographical descriptions of tenements and lands and boundaries almost enabling me to build up to the mind's eye considerable portions of the old borough of Southwark, and to piece together properties as they were hundreds of years ago. We have glimpses of old names, old customs, and the like, all remarkably interesting. Here, then, are no contemptible materials out of which to construct a local social story, which is at the same time, in many respects, a fair representation of the general condition of things throughout the country—of high value indeed to the historian who would show us the people as they lived and acted.

We are now, I will suppose, at the end of London Bridge, looking south into Southwark; we have left close behind us a rich and elaborate gothic edifice, substantially part of a large pier in the midst of London Bridge, the upper and lower chapels dedicated to St. Thomas. On our right, close to the bridge foot, as we enter Southwark, is the Priory of St. Mary Overy, which, with its precincts, forms the parish of St. Mary Magdalen Overy; the priory church is at its eastern end fairly well represented by the present Church of St. Saviour's; the western end, or nave, is in its restoration not much above contempt. Roman occupation is shown by extensive remains found beneath and about the church. The old church, in all its beauty, is exhaustively described and pictured in Mr. Dollman's book, lately issued.³ Immediately west of the church, next door as it were, separated only by a narrow creek from the priory, was Winchester House, the noble palace of the Bishops of Winchester, some few remains of which I have myself seen; here Beaufort, Gardiner, and Andrewes lived.

I now come to the especial subject of this paper. The Canons of the Priory of St. Mary Overy founded within their precincts an hospital for poor people: when exactly, or to what extent, I know not; but although of very limited scope, it was a special feature of the priory, and had been there some time, probably from the first. Early in the thirteenth century a fire destroyed great part of Southwark, and extended over the bridge to the city; in this fire

³ "The Priory of St. Mary Overie," by F. T. Dollman, Architect, 1881. Drewett, Southwark.

the priory and hospital were destroyed. Stow, from Matthew Paris, gives in one place the date as 1212, and tells of 3,000 people hemmed in on the bridge, between the fires at either end, most of whom were burnt, drowned, or otherwise destroyed. This statement, in the highest degree improbable, is repeated by others, and Stow himself gives the date in another place as 1207. Close at hand, at the very time, was an important religious house, the Cluniac Priory at Bermondsey, on the site where now are Bermondsey Square and Church. A valuable little volume of the annals of this priory has been preserved (MS. Harleian 231, British Museum).⁴ People at hand, and so closely connected, must be looked upon as the highest authorities for any facts as to this fire; it would hardly seem possible that a fire of such magnitude, and of such fatality, should be unnoticed. A fire is accordingly noted in these annals, but the date given is 1207, and of the deaths by fire or drowning there is no mention at all; the words are: "In 1207 the church of the blessed Mary of the Canons of Southwark and a great part of London and Southwark were burnt."

The first hospital of St. Thomas, within the precincts of the priory, and the priory, being now destroyed, we learn from the same annals that the prior and convent erected, the same year, near to the site of their house, that is, on the right or western side of the highway into Southwark, a temporary hospital.⁵ This building was in the emergency used

⁴ Published in Rolls series of Monastic Annals, by Mr. Luard.

⁵ See also Tanner, "Notitia":—"Overy, Hospital of St. Thomas. Upon burning of the Monastery of St. Mary Overy, 1207, the prior and

for religious purposes : mass was said there until the priory was rebuilt. Soon after this a noted and busy man of the time, Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, whose palace was, as I have said, at hand, resolved to found a nobler hospital. In 1228 he set about this work and built the Hospital of St. Mary, or St. Thomas, Overy, to show its origin and connection. It was now built by him, or at his instance, on the opposite or eastern side of the highway, much in the place we have known occupied by our modern hospital, on land provided by Amicius, Archdeacon of Surrey, and dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr.

The interesting particulars of this early state will be best given in the exact words of Bishop Peter, in his charter of 1228, or, as it might be better described, in his short, forcible charity sermon :—

“The Lord Peter’s charter of indulgence for twenty days granted by him for this hospital.⁶

“Peter, by the grace of God Bishop of Winchester, to all the faithful in Christ in the diocese of Winchester, greeting. In Him who is the salvation of the faithful. As saith the Apostle, bodily discipline which consists in fasts, vigils, and other mortifications of the flesh, profiteth little, while piety availeth for all things, having the promise of the life which now is, and of that which is to come.

“Our Lord Jesus Christ among the works of piety enumerates, commends, and teaches us to fulfil six, as though more praiseworthy and more meritorious convent in that same year founded an hospital near their own house, wherein they said mass till the priory was rebuilt.”

⁶ Translated with the full flavour of antiquarian exactness by my friend Mr. Flather, of Cavendish College, Cambridge.

than the rest, saying, 'I was an hungred, and ye gave Me to eat; I was thirsty, and ye gave Me to drink; I was a stranger, and ye took Me in; I was naked, and ye clothed Me; I was sick, and ye visited Me; in prison, and ye came to Me.' To them that perform these works of piety He shall grant His blessing and the glory of His heavenly kingdom, saying, 'Come, ye blessed of My Father, receive the kingdom which has been prepared for you from the beginning of the world.' But to them that neglect and do not perform works of compassion He threatens His curse and the penalty of eternal fire, saying, 'Go, ye cursed, into eternal fire, which has been prepared for the devil and his angels.' It is therefore to be borne in mind, my dearest sons, and more deeply laid to heart, how needful and how conducive to the salvation of our souls it is to exercise more readily those works of piety whereby blessing is promised to us, and the felicity of eternal life is gained.

"Behold at Southwark an ancient hospital, built of old to entertain the poor, has been entirely reduced to cinders and ashes by a lamentable fire. Moreover, the place wherein the old hospital had been founded was less suitable, less appropriate for entertainment and habitation, both by reason of the straitness of the place, and by reason of the lack of water and of many other conveniences: according to the advice of us, and of wise men, it is transferred and transplanted to another more commodious site, where the air is more pure and calm, and the supply of waters more plentiful. But whereas this building of the new hospital calls for many and manifold outlays, and cannot be crowned with its due consummation with-

out the aid of the faithful, we request, advise, and earnestly exhort you all, and with a view to the remission of your sins enjoin you, according to your abilities, from the goods bestowed on you by God, to stretch forth the hand of pity to the building of this new hospital, and out of your feelings of charity to receive the messengers of the same hospital coming to you for the needs of the poor to be therein entertained, that for these and other works of piety you shall do, you may, after the course of this life, reap the reward of eternal felicity from Him who is the Recompenser of all good deeds, and the loving and compassionate God. Now we, by the mercy of God, and trusting in the merits of the glorious Virgin Mary, and the Apostles Peter and Paul, and St. Thomas the Martyr, and St. Swithin, to all the believers in Christ, who shall look with the eye of piety on the gifts of their alms—that is to say, having confessed, contrite in heart and truly penitent, we remit to such twenty days of the penance enjoined on them, and grant it to them to share in the prayers and benefactions made in the church of Winchester, and other churches erected by the grace of the Lord in the diocese of Winchester. Ever in the Lord; Farewell.”

In the MS. volume are copies of some eight bulls, issued by different popes, confirming privileges granted to the hospital by Bishop Peter and others. All these are carefully crossed through with thick lines of ink, a sign of emphatic renunciation of the Pope and all his works, then a subject at fever-heat in England; indeed it became a proverb at the time, that “England was of all the best pair of bellows to blow the fire in

the Pope's kitchen, and make his pot boil." On May 31, 1561, it was ordered by the Bishop of Winchester, "that all church books in Latin at St. Mary Overy's shall be defaced." As this was a book of muniments of St. Thomas's Hospital it was probably away, but from the lines crossed through the bulls, it had evidently come under supervision, probably at this time.

In one of these bulls, Urban VI confirms charters, bequests, and privileges, anyway purchased or acquired for the hospital—a wide authority made full use of before the time of those black obliterating lines had arrived.

In aid of the good work, William, Prior of St. Mary Overy, gave his charter; compassionating the poor infirm in the hospital of St. Thomas, he grants to all benefactors to participate in all masses, psalms, vigils, prayers, alms, and genuflexions of worshippers to the priory. He grants them also the daily benefits of masses—one for the dead, and one for the living—to be said in the Church of St. Mary Overy. He asks in return for these inestimable benefits nothing more than gifts for the hospital; adjuring the people by the hope they have of coming at last to the mansions of heaven—*cæli palatia*—to do this liberally.

A first step in the foundation of the hospital is to make it independent of the priory, of which at the first was a part; the prior manages it in this way:—Mathew the Prior sends greeting: know that I have granted to the Venerable P. [that is, Bishop Peter] and to Amicius, Archdeacon of Surrey, all land which he held of him in Southwark, by annual service of 5*d.* For this Amicius gives 10 marks of silver, and the land had been let by the prior to one Alex-

ander, 5 marks are also given to him, he having to remove edifices and houses to make room for the coming hospital. Thus with prayers and benefactions the hospital is well launched, and Bishop Peter, in every way possible, proceeds to ensure a sufficient income for it. It is a pity to be obliged to say it, but the author of the pious and beautiful charter I have read, and of so many good works—among the rest founding the Parish Church of St. Mary Magdalen Overy, which he built, and the Church of St. Olave, which, for the purposes of hospitality, he gave to the Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes—this Bishop Peter was, so to speak, no better than he should be. He held the highest offices of state; he crowned King Henry III; was his personal guardian, and sometime President of the Council. He was no doubt a very attractive man, and had a great and, as appears, a malign influence over others. He was a secret fomentor of mischief, and is said to have largely encouraged the vices of the especially vicious courts of John and Henry III. He proved too mischievous and turbulent even for those times, and in 1238 died in some sort of disgrace.

Those who are curious as to the early charters of the hospital will find a somewhat dry list of some of them in the third volume of Manning and Bray's "Surrey."⁷ In the earlier ones everything is done in the name of the Custos, or Master, and Brethren and Sistren of the hospital; long after, in 1535, there were a Master, Brethren, and three lay Sisters, and they, at that time, had forty beds for poor infirm people, who were supplied with food and firing.

The land of the Archdeacon of Surrey, upon which the new hospital was to be built, was not yet in his possession : it was to be procured for the purpose. Here is a charter, 1214, to this effect :—"Three weeks after Michaelmas, 15th John, John le Chaloner and Grace his wife, *petens*,⁸ and Master Amicius, Archdeacon of Surrey, *tenens*⁸—John and Grace quit-claim one messuage in Southwark to Amicius for the new hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr for ever, and 40s. is paid for the concession ; the concord, or agreement, was made in the presence of Richolda, late wife of Stephen, who gives up her right of dower. Two others, from Richard son of Ralph, Richard Fitzralph, and from John le Carpenter to the same effect, Richolda in each case quit-claiming her dower." The deeds, or charters, as they are called, are dated generally, say, from Southwark, but otherwise in some cases ; for instance, one is given at "the Church of St. Mary Magdalen, Southwark, Wednesday next after the feast of All Saints, 34 Edw. III."⁹ One item very important to an hospital was the bestowal of a burial-place: this the Master, Brethren, and Sistren had procured to be dedicated to them. Some clamour soon arose as to this ; it was found to interfere with rights of the parsons of St. Mary Magdalen and St. Margaret, as to the burial of their dead, and as to their receipt of fees. Alan, the official of the Bishop of Winchester, steps in and delivers himself thus :—Master Alan de Stokes sends greeting : whereas Pope Honorius [note the influential and interested

⁸ One desirous to buy, the other to sell.

⁹ It being very customary to ratify important business in churches and noted places of resort.

meddling of the Popes within the realm] gave his mandate and precept to the venerable Peter that the hospital should have a cemetery, but without damage to others." After much trouble, the venerable Peter, having great doubts and objecting to grant it, yet being warned by other bishops, and afraid of being convicted of disobedience, and not being able (or willing) to do it himself, deposes Alan to settle it, which he does by allowing the cemetery to the hospital, and, as some compensation, one shilling each annually to the vicar of St. Mary Magdalen and the rector of St. Margaret. The Brethren were allowed to celebrate Divine service in the hospital—the first outcome, I suppose, of a St. Thomas's Church. They might have only two bells of one hundredweight each: they were, in fact, to be not too bold in their rivalry to the two parish churches. A market for corn and other produce, wont to be held in the courts *foribus* of the old hospital, was to be freely allowed at the doors or gates of the new; the old hospital was to be pulled down, the canons engaging never to rebuild any hospital over against the new in the public street of Southwark. All this Edward I confirmed. In 1293 the collector of tithes in aid of the Holy Land declares all hospitals for the poor and for lepers free of tithes, and therefore those in Southwark, this of St. Thomas for sick and infirm, and the one for lepers in Kent Street, were free. This charter was dated "Rochester, on the morrow of St. Valentine the Martyr."

In 1238, Lucas, Archdeacon of Surrey, as a private person, and not as an official, obtains from the Master

and Brethren of the *Domus Pauperum*, of the hospital of St. Thomas, accommodation of a hall, chapel, and refectory; as he afterwards quit-claims all right, and will not intrude if they wish it otherwise, &c., it looks like an early attempt at a corrupt use of an hospital intended for the poor; but the privilege soon lapsed.

By virtue of this foundation of Bishop Peter's jurisdiction over the hospital was claimed, and sometimes exercised, by the Bishops of Winchester; and the archdeacon having also taken a chief part in the work the Archdeacons of Surrey also, to some extent, claimed jurisdiction. In 1417 this was re-leased so that neither the archdeacon nor his representative could exercise authority within the precincts of the hospital over persons regular or secular, or in cases civil or criminal; the Master and Brethren formed a court of their own, and this early authority, to some extent, coloured the doings of the governors to later times, and to some extent tinges the authoritative feelings of hospital governors even now. In the time of Elizabeth the governors of St. Thomas's had a whipping-post and stocks within the precincts, and used them freely. Under some conditions food was curtailed; in cases of disease from vice, after cure and before discharge, a whipping was administered, which was extended even to Sisters guilty of offences within the hospital, and was given "with a will" sometimes. One I note, an offending Sister, being ordered "twelve stripes, to be well laid on."

The Bishop of Winchester or the Archbishop seems to have granted, in 1277, to the Brethren power to elect their own Master; in a visitation, 1323, they

are ordered to follow the rule of St. Augustine,—the rule of the parent house—in obedience, chastity, renunciation of individual property, and the Master to eat with the Brethren.

The names of Simon, Richard, and other of the De Parys family appear often in the charters: they were noted people in Southwark; one was Marshal of the Marshalsea in 1392, and got into some trouble for allowing the escape of thieves who had robbed Chaucer, near the “fowle ok” at Hatcham, of some public money, £200 or more in present value.

The manor of Paris Garden, now the parish of Christ Church, is said to take its name—I think doubtfully—after this Robert de Parys, who had his house there. A curious marriage arrangement comes out of hospital property once belonging to Richard de Parys and Richard le Clerk. These two fathers—one of them, I believe, member for Southwark—arrange a marriage between their children, Simon and Agatha; it does not seem convenient for Agatha's father to pay down her portion: he will do so in four years, and will meantime give his daughter board and all she wants; and if Simon likes to come where she is, he also shall have bed and board and everything he can wish—a very pleasant father-in-law.

We meet in our MS. with the name of Sir John Fastolfe, a great name in the fifteenth century, and greater in that he is *quasi*-Shakespearean. His palace, fit for royalty, was in Stoney Street, St. Olave's. His possessions in Southwark were many; more than 300 deeds connected with these are, I believe, now at Magdalen College, Oxford. The

passage in the MS. is that "the President of Magdalen College has true title to 4s. from the Master and Brethren of Thomas's Hospital, annual quit-rent of tenements by the Boar's Head, the gift of William Waynflete, which he and others had of the gift of John Fastolfe, Knight, obtained by long services and course of justice." The Boar's Head was situate where now is the London Bridge Railways' approach; the forlorn wings of the departed hospital are on the site.

I have not an exact method in my selections, fancy and some fitness pointing out what seems to me the most interesting matter, yet I am not unmindful of some kind of order.

Many, perhaps most, of the early bequests to the hospital have reference to prayers for souls—not all selfish, it being usual to pray for the souls of relatives, friends, and all Christian souls; and the work was here a good one. The release from pain and penalty, by a competent authority, was an especially successful mode of raising money from penance in this world, by obits for the world to come; no small advantage being that not unfrequently the greatest offenders became the greatest benefactors, as this mode of raising money often took effect when people were weak, remorseful, terrified, and easily wrought upon. This was interfered with by the Mortmain Act of 1279, but even here our hospital was specially befriended; a charter, dated "Wallingford, 4th June, 7 Ewd. I," allowing the Brethren, irrespective of the Act, to acquire 10 markates of land and rent of any other fee save that held of the king *capite*. I note here that wives are commonly

parties to deeds, in which the husband, or baron, as he is called, is party.

There is much in these charters about Jews, notably about Isaac of Southwark. Isaac, 14th Edward I, sells a tenement and house for 28 marks, a pair of white gloves, value one penny, or a penny, being rendered annually for the same. The same Isaac grants to the Brethren of St. Thomas's a messuage, once Cecilia de Benville's, about which he is careful to say that he was, by the heirs, drawn into disputes at law ; the deed is signed in place of seal with his name in Hebrew character, after the manner of his people ; of the witnesses, two sign as John le Ysmonger and Richard le Cornmonger.

Wm. de Hameldon, Rector of Stanford, gives in frankalmoigne a place or meadow belonging to Isaac the Jew, and "a meadow at Camberwell called the Jues mede, for the health of his soul, for the souls of his father and mother, for the souls of Sir Adam de Bletchingley, clerk, and of Agnes his wife"—this is dated "Southwark, Monday next after the Feast of the Purification of St. Mary, 1st Edw. II." Richard Marshal, of Lewisham, grants to Isaac the Jew of Southwark, for one mark of silver, a piece of land for which he is to pay 2s. at Michaelmas, and 2s. annually as quit-rent to the Prior of Bermondsey ; a proviso stated is that Isaac is not for any cause to be deprived of this land and tenement—a sort of evidence of the bad treatment the Jews received. The Jews were, in fact, about this time in a very insecure state ; they were used very much as a sort of sponge, to take from the people and be squeezed by the king ; they were in some sense, as to taxation, the

special property of the king—"my Jews," as was often in a sinister way said. About this very time the Jews were actually assigned as security for a loan to the king, and not long after were with much cruelty banished the realm; true they were to receive just value for their possessions, when they went away—not often, I suppose carried out in good faith. It is asserted that Jews could not hold lands, but in this book of Lord Ashburnham's are instances to the contrary: they dealt in land and held mortgages.

Certainly there are charters in which it is provided that the land so chartered shall not be sold to a Jew or to a man of religion: *e.g.*, William Bellamy is not to sell or pawn to any house of religion or to Jews, but was to offer it back again to the Prior of Bermondsey, to their advantage in the amount of a gold byzant.¹⁰

Isaac was the son of Samuel of Southwark, whose wife Thippe, Cypore, or Zipporah (*i.e.*, the Dove, a favourite Jewish name) had property of her own, forfeited to Edward I on the expulsion. John Wycliffe appears to have had this property of Thippe's in 1330: it was, apparently, a doubtful transaction, sanctioned by the rather cruel and unjust ways of that time. Much temptation favouring conversion was in the way of the Jews: in 1213 a house for converts, presumably for Jewish converts, and children, dedicated to the favourite saint, Thomas, was built for the almshouse of Bermondsey Priory, by Prior Richard, and was, as we might expect from the persistent cruel treatment of the Jews, soon filled. Bishop

¹⁰ A gold byzant was in value £15, but this refers, I believe, to coin of much less value.

Peter, the founder of our hospital, gave £100 for the encouragement and help of Jewish converts, but if a Christian was converted to Judaism, which sometimes happened, he was burnt. The Jews' mede referred to was a very interesting bequest; it was named "of the sartorie," that is, of the tailoring, and out of the proceeds clothes were provided for officiating Brethren. It is recited that Brethren officiating had officially nothing to wear; the rent of the Jews' mede, in true value, without diminution, was to be paid among the Brethren in equal proportions, without respect to persons, honours, or dignities, for vesture only, and for no other purpose, to Brother Richard de Hulme, Master, and to his co-Brethren priests, Brother William de London, Brother Stephen de Stratton, Brother Walter de Merlawe, and Brother William de Stanton, who are mentioned by name—they having looked at the sacred books, or taken them in hand, "inspectis sacrosanctis evangelius," in other words took oath to observe the ordinance which supplied the clothes and limited the supply to priests officiating, and not to other Brethren or Sisters. This charter is sealed and witnessed, "Southwark, in full chapter, Wednesday Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, 1316."

To prepare the way for important bequests to the hospital, various minute interests had to be cleared away. Let me quote one charter, which I give only for its very curious particulars; the date is 1307. Robert le Saucer, to John de Gyllinges and Agnes his wife, confirms a tenement with free entrance and exit, situate in the body (*corpore*) of another certain tenement of Ralph de Chaundelere, in the parish of

St. Mary Magdalen, Southwark; it is described as between the tenement of John the Miller on the south, and that of Elias de Derby on the north, and between the tenement of Mabile daughter of Ralph, and a shop with a solar over, divided between the two daughters of Ralph; the tenement contains 7 ells a quarter and a half, by 6 ells and half a quarter. A sub-gift is a tenement between that of Mabile and that of Emma her sister: this shop is 1 ell 2 inches; the solar 1 ell, 1 quarter, half a quarter, and an inch. It would seem ridiculous to descend to these minutiae, but it is a specimen of the business of the time. This deed is interesting in another way, the character and importance of the witnesses:—Hugh de Zernemouth, bailiff of Southwark [as the town of Southwark was yet vested in the Warrens this was probably his bailiff of Southwark]:¹¹ the other witnesses are Henry de Craspays, Richard de Langford, clerk, John le Miller, Simon le Marshal, John le Brasour, Roger le Pulter, Henry de Darby, Henry le Hatton, Walter le Miller, clerk—dated “Southwark, after the Epiphany, 1st Edw. II.” These names suggest others, which I have found up and down this curious volume, *e.g.*: Bartholomeus Aquarius, Richard Vitriarius, Martin Peletarius, Valter le Textor, John le Tourtbaker, Thomas de Iorden, cook, Thomas atte Grene de Bermondsey, John le Carpenter, William the Norman, John le Walter le Miller, William de Wandlesworth, Jordarius, John de Yelyng Brocher, Richard, Simon,

¹¹ A Roll since discovered in the Public Record Office states that Hugh de Gernemuw, Bailiff of Southwark, holds it, and has held it five years by writ-patent of the King.”—Hundred Rolls, 18 Edw. I.

and Robert de Parys, William Ruffus, Roger Fitzmartin, Luke Fitzbaldwin, Richard Fitzralph, Norman de Suwerk, Elias le Poleter, Roger le Poulter, Admere de Combere and Hugh, William Philip Ferrour, Godard of London Bridge, John le Oxon, baker, Roger Koc, Terrickus le Fewterer, and others equally interesting, and notably one *Panefather*, so that Pennyfather may probably be a bread-father.

The Duke of Buckingham in 1460 dies possessed of an inn and seven cottages nigh St. George's Bar; it is curious that the exact, or nearly exact spot by the Bricklayers' Arms should now, without knowledge of this fact, be named Buckenham Square. The words "within and without the bar," so frequently used in describing property, refers, as is probably well known, to the old formula, a public boundary made manifest by bars, or by posts and chains; we have Southwark, Smithfield, Holborn, and St. George's Bars. Lepers were to live without "the bars"; a well-known leper hospital, *temp.* Edward II, was without the Kent Street Bar, and was still here a hundred or so years ago as a Lock hospital. The monks of Bermondsey were skilled in the treatment of leprosy, and hence the King, Henry IV, was here for cure of this disease in 1412.

William Roce, of Totynges Beck, founded, 8th Edward III, an obit at St. Thomas's: it is topographically very interesting. The meadow he left, called Cheker Mede, was between the meadows of Thomas de Fulham, the sacristy wall of the Priory of Bermondsey, and a street called Meleward Street; the same, I think, as that afterwards known as Five-foot Lane, and now Russell Street. William Roce

bought a garden, the other or south side of the priory, as this was on the north, between the priory and the bar just spoken of: this would be where Bermondsey New Road is now. The obit was for the soul of Thomas atte Grene (who no doubt dealt liberally as to the Cheker Mede), and for other souls. Roce confirms these gifts for the support of poor infirm people, who, as he in his warm zeal says, are flowing or streaming (*confluentium*) to the hospital for help. An acre of meadow is also named with Mele or Millward Street, the Horsewey upon Horsleydown, the first reference I have as yet met with relating to the locality we still know as Horslydown. Permit me a word as to these old names. It is not only interesting, but useful, in reading the history of bygone time, to be able to put the finger upon a spot and say, Here this deed was done; here that great event took place; here that notable man lived. I say this because our local governors at Spring Gardens are not, I think, sufficiently careful and conservative this way. Let me give one instance: Kent Street was, until lately, the name of one of the oldest ways in the kingdom, and so always named in every interesting old books and records. It is now named Tabard Street, Chaucer's Tabard—what memory there is of it—having been some distance, and having no connection with Kent Street. On the bankside, in Southwark, are many places with, as yet, the very names they had in the time of Shakespeare, when he acted at the Globe there. I hope our masters will be tender in this respect, and carefully preserve as many names as they can, which are so suggestively linked with the past.

In 1428 is a confirmation by the Prior and Convent of Bermondsey to the hospital of 10 acres and 3 perches of land in the marsh of Southwark, within the bar. In the time of the Romans, before they embanked the river, the land about Southwark was all either islets, raised or submerged ground. The word Bermondsey—at least its last syllable—implies ground rescued from a marsh or an islet. Wayneflete, in 1473, built a stone bridge where now is Russell Street, Bermondsey Street. Newington Causeway implies the same fact. There is Lambeth Marsh, and here are 10 acres of a Southwark Marsh within the bar. The earlier people hereabout built on piles, and later on we find the Globe, the Hope, and the rest of the playhouses on the Bankside so built.

I have note of Trivet Lane; this also is of much interest: its name appears at the foundation of the new hospital in 1228, and frequently afterwards. I believe it to have been that afterwards known as "Thieves' Lane by Thomas's Hospital" noted by Stow, and now St. Thomas's Street. Under this exact spot, under the hospital itself, some 10 feet down, have been found the remains of a very sumptuous Roman villa; coins and domestic appliances; some few specimens of their pots and pans and money I have. The Guildhall Museum and the British Museum are rich in these Southwark remains. In 1392 the Master of the hospital is charged with stopping the public way, namely, Trivet Lane; the ground is seized by the King's Escheator, and the case is ordered for trial. On the day appointed not one of the jury attends, but afterwards they do

better, and in the end substantial justice is done, the hospital having the verdict. Very interesting facts come out of this trial; on this spot a public market, for corn and merchandise generally, was held for the use and convenience of the men of Southwark town.

This market was held outside by the church in Trivet Lane, and here also was held the King's Court of the Marshalsea. Twenty years before,¹² the people of Southwark were to build a house near St. Margaret's Church for the Court of the Marshalsea of the King's household, which had evidently not been done, and this case was probably meant to hurry it on. The market referred to had been held before the fire, within the precincts of the old hospital, and had passed to the new as a necessary privilege. Butchers, leathersellers, fellmongers, and others had stalls or standings, and paid weekly rents or payments *pro rata*; e.g., 4*d.* for a dozen of hide leather, and the same for six dozen calfskins. Out of this, as out of the King's grants, grew the Southwark market, which was held up and down the midst of the High Street until 1756: it is now in a more suitable place known as the Borough Market.

In 1380 the Brethren are moved to show gratitude to their great friend the Most Reverend in Christ Thomas de Hatfield, Bishop of Durham. "They have seen his immense probity, his fruitful labours, his lofty nobility of mind." Accordingly "they will, at the altar of St. Mary the Virgin, and before the sick people, pray for him so long as he live, and after his death; and they will move the sick people to pray

¹² Rymer.

for him ; they will pray for his father, his mother Margerie ; for his brothers ; for his sisters Joan and Margerie ; for the King, and his lady Philippa, who was good to the said Thomas. The chief collect to be read, the collect of the blessed St. Cuthbert, patron of the venerable father, together with the collects of the faithful deceased." If, under any specified circumstances, any money after the necessary expenses was left, a daily mass was to be said, and to show their complete gratitude, if by any unfortunate chance the services should be omitted eight days, by the priest appointed, then two chaplains instead of one should make up the lack.

In 1415, William Neale, of Chichester, bequeaths to the Master and his successors a certain sum to maintain two lanterns with lights to be kept perpetually burning, at matins, vespers, and other times, in two separate places in the church before the people lying there ; a fine of 40 marks being incurred for neglect.

William de Aestade gives to the new hospital five solidates of land, worth as many shillings, per annum, in frankalmoigne, for a lamp to be kept burning *coram infirmis*, in the hospital for ever.

A very comfortable custom, common to these and later times, was bequests of property by lone women, who obtained thereby lodging and living, and pious observances, within the hospital precincts. Ladies even of note often provided in this way for themselves ; it was, in fact, an institution very common in religious houses. Alicia de Chalvedon, for the love of God, for the health of her soul, and of the soul of her husband, Ralph de Bristowe, for the souls of her

father and mother and ancestors, confirms to the hospital, in frankalmoigne, all her lands in Chalvedon without any drawback. The Master and Brethren agreeing to find for Alicia, within the court of the hospital, a suitable bed, with everything necessary to a bed, for her so long as she lives; she is to have good service, and money for clothing and fuel, but is to make no further claim of any kind. In another case a widow marries again, and, as is said, "takes a baron"—in other words, for husband—Robert Wygington; another speaks of her late baron, that is, her husband.

Later on, after the foundation of the newer hospital by Edward VI, the same custom, with a difference, prevails. The governors and treasurer, not now Master and Brethren, agree to take Elizabeth Sharp, of St. Michael's in the Querne in Westchepe, into the hospital, she giving all her goods and implements for the use of the poor, so that after her death no claim shall be made for them. At this latter period servants, dependents, or poor that well-to-do people would like to be good to, were commonly received into the hospital, upon a payment, weekly or otherwise, fixed by the governors; such income, and the value of work done by those poor who could work, forming an appreciative sum in aid of hospital funds.

(Gilbert de Clare, 1272, grants mills to Mathew the miller: if Mathew took salmon at the mills, the Earl or his heirs would claim the salmon at price of 12*d.*, "the Countess my wife or my chief seneschal at the same," and if none of these was there, Mathew might himself keep the salmon.

In 1374 was a curious controversy between the Prior of St. Mary Overy and the hospital, which, so far as words go, is a model of good feeling. It is about a lane extending to the Thames, one boundary, a barn, belonging to the priory. After "contentions many," says the document, in courts of law; friends, by Divine grace intervening, find a mode of agreement and of making things comfortable. The Master and Brethren and the Canons agree, in fact, to arbitration, the arbitrators being William of Wykeham, Nicholas Carew, William Tank, and Henry Persay, who, having inspected the priory muniments, ordered the land to be rendered up by the Sheriff of Surrey, in the sight of Southwark people, called together for the purpose. It is with some laudation mentioned of the Masters, that they severally went the way of all flesh, some from disease, some from weakness or decay, but all respected the decision, and carried it out honourably.

In 1428 there is a most interesting confirmation, by the abbot and monks of Bermondsey, of all lands and tenements held by the hospital of them. I quote nothing but the introduction, which is very quaint: "Thomas, by the grace of God Abbot of St. Saviour's Bermondsey, of the Cluniac order, sends greeting. Our Saviour enjoins us to follow charity, so that in no way may disputes arise among religious people, touching seculars, and therefore for the purpose of putting away controversy," &c., &c. ;—the end of it is that the abbot makes a record, in black and white, of all such matters.

I am now close to the end of my story. The hospital, built in 1228, has now, in 1507, become dilapidated and insufficient; great efforts are accord-

ingly being made to rebuild and enlarge. The manuscript under review tells us all about it. A rough map, of about 1540, which I have made my text for a topographical and historical book,¹³ shows us the exact position: this is a tracing taken at the Public Record Office, where the original is.

A John Reed was Master of the hospital in 1414; another John Reed, a notary, not Master, is now gathering up means for the rebuilding; many interesting charters are noted in which the lands and tenements bought are described, and the hands through which they passed before, specified. One chief property had belonged to a John Gower, killed at Tewkesbury, and as he was on the losing side the property was forfeited, but on petition was restored. It had been before intended for the hospital as an albit, to maintain three chaplains, but that lapsed during the Wars of the Roses. It seems likely that the poet Gower was of this family; there is, however, no proof before us as yet. The poet lived in Southwark within the priory, where he and his wife had their dwelling-place; he died on almost the very ground of the earliest hospital. He was a friend to the new one, and among his bequests he leaves to the Master of St. Thomas's, 40s.; to every priest serving there, 6s. 8d.; to every professed Sister, 4d.; to each of the nurses waiting on the sick, 10d.; to every patient, 12d.; and, as usual in such cases, he asks their prayers.

John Reed the notary is now (1507) possessed of the land north of the Church of St. Thomas's, that is,

¹³ "Old Southwark and its People." The map modernised, but otherwise exact, accompanies this paper.

between the hospital and Tooley Street, otherwise St. Olaf's Street, in Southwark, and makes a deed of gift to Sir Richard Richardson, Master, for the new hospital. We have account of the work and expenses ; thus, 22 Henry VII, "expenses done by Sir Richard Richardson, Master of St. Thomas's Hospital ; purchase of the void ground called the Faucon, and afterwards the Tenys Place, and clossh-bane, upon which ground said Master hath builded a new hospital for poor men." The *Sir* prefixed to the Master's name was commonly given to ecclesiastics, and had no connection with knighthood ; Sir William Engleby, for instance, was priest of St. Saviour's, and Sir William Medison priest of St. Thomas's. The Falcon was no doubt a place of entertainment on a large scale, east of the Boar's Head, Sir John Fa~~l~~stolfe's property, and of the Black Swan in High Street, and south and west of the town house belonging to the Prior of Lewes ; it was, as we see, adapted for games of tennis and skittles, *clossh* implying the ninepins, but I am not clear what is implied by *clossh-bane*. To proceed with the bill :—

"Paid to Mr. Scott of Kent and Ann his wife for the land, ready money, 40 marks, and for a gown cloth of damask for said Ann, £3 16s. 8d., in all £31 3s. 4d." [Note the price, £31, and the £296,000 which the present railway companies paid in these our days for the site, which is nearly the same as that John Reed transferred to the hospital in 1507.] "John Reed, as a notary, expences, self business and labour, £10 ; Richard Greys lease [an under lease] bought back £5 ; Thomas Polstead £2 3s. 4d.

—in all £48 6s. 8*d.* Reparations on said void ground, now being the new Almes-house, wages, bricklayers, building materials, &c., in all £262 19s. 5½*d.* ; grand total, £311 6s. 1½*d.* Further were bought for the hospital, 4 doz. new blankets, 33 coverlets, tapestry work called counterfeit orress [arras], £14 14s. 4*d.*”

The amount named seems small for land and a large building by London Bridge, but we must consider that land was cheap : this same had been let in 1439 at 5 marks, or £3 6s. 8*d.*, the year. Wages were 4*d.* to 6*d.* the day, an ox was 27s. 6*d.* ; work at St. Margaret's, near at hand, cost at this time at the rate, in wages, of a tiler, day and half, 8*d.* ; his man, 4*d.* ; a dauber, that is, a plasterer, 4*d.*, &c. ; and, further, the total sum named would imply now considerably more than £3,000.

I lately discovered, connected with our subject, an important paper in the Public Record Office. In the Duchy of Lancaster records there is “ the Rentall of Thomas Becketts hospitall in Southwarke, of all the lands and tenements belonging to the hospitall.” It contains the names of the tenants and the rents paid ; it is without date, but from internal evidence may be any time between 1512 and 1536.

It is peculiarly interesting as containing among the tenants some important names : a Nicholas Crumwell ; some of the actual artists of those wonderful windows still at King's College, Cambridge ; the Member for Southwark in 1511 ; a whole family of Nycolsons, and some hundred others. About this time, like as at other religious houses—for instance, Westminster Abbey and Christ's Hospital—there was here, that is, within the precincts of

St. Thomas's Hospital, a renowned printing-press. James Nyclonson, one of the artists of the Cambridge windows, was the printer: he, in 1527, signed the contract for the windows as "James Nyclonson, of St. Thomas's Spytell in Southwark." He printed many works here, some, it is said, so early as 1526, but the earliest I know of is the treatise of "Justification by Faith only" of Tyndale's, published the same year its author was martyred at Antwerp. The most remarkable issue from his press was, however, the Bible known as "Nyclonson's Coverdale," in 1537, the rarest of English Bibles, and the first one complete in English printed in England; if it were now for sale it would probably fetch not less than £1,000.

Now at length comes the dissolution of the religious houses, and among them St. Thomas's Hospital is surrendered to the King.

Although so great a stickler for purity in this direction, the King was himself quite capable of a bit of corruption. In 1528 he presses Wolsey for the appointment of Master to this hospital; he wishes it for his chaplain, who is a gentleman born, but not learned enough for the King; he wants, as he says, a more learned man in his place.

In 1538 the hospital is surrendered, and although some efforts were made by Gresham and others to refound it as a purely charitable institution, nothing was effectually done until the citizens of London, aided and encouraged by Bishop Ridley, made great efforts to remedy in this direction some, at least, of the evils coming out of the dissolution of religious houses. The King, Edward VI, accordingly proceeds to re-establish the hospitals. He says, in his

exordium to Letters Patent, 1553, that, pitying the miserable estate of poor, fatherless, decrepit, aged and sick, infirm and impotent persons, he is moved to countenance the great efforts of the citizens of London on behalf of St. Thomas's and another hospital or two. The King, a few days before his death, with his own hand fills in the blank with a grant of 4,000 marks by the year, and knowing his end approaching, exclaims, in the hearing of his council: "Lord, I yield Thee most hearty thanks that Thou hast given me life thus long to finish this work to the glory of Thy Name."¹⁴

After this restoration, and yet long before our own times, a great stock of most interesting matter remains untold, far outweighing anything before you: correspondence with high and distinguished persons, letters from Elizabeth, Charles, Cromwell, Bradshaw, Fairfax, and others; one remarkable one from Thomas Copley, owner of the Maze adjoining the hospital, and lord of Gatton and Merstham, with which I finish this paper; much matter remains relating to the hospital, within and without, as to people connected with the hospital who became famous, and matters illustrating the history of the borough of Southwark, which, if I am spared, shall some day appear.

As to Copley's letter, the governors had applied for right of way over a bridge into the Maze. Southwark was full of dividing streams: the chief of them, including the one in question, are now covered over as sewers.

Copley was now a distinguished recusant, a non-conforming Romanist, out of the realm for personal

¹⁴ Preface, "Grey Friars' Chronicle," by J. G. Nichols.

safety ; his answer to the governors, dated Antwerp, 1570, is as follows :—

“I acknowledge the receipt of the governors’ letter by my friend Mr. Caton, governor of the English house here ; I would pleasure any or all the governors—that is, of St. Thomas’s Hospital—especially in so honourable and honest a request for the benefit of the poor. Mine, however, is not a case to give order or grant the way, as the Queen’s Majestie is entitled to my living, not for any offence by me committed, but from rigor of law made since I came away, executed by some who hoped to profit out of it. Her Majestie’s officers dispose of my revenues in my absence. I will follow the counsel of the wise man, not to contend with the mighty, but to yield myself to those who are set over me, until I can again dispose of my own, for which favour I am humble suitor to her Majestie, not despairing to find grace, mine innocence considered.

“I had no thought against her Majestie or the country, but only I had fear to offend God and my conscience in matter of faith. I will, if not prejudicial to my heir or tenants, willingly consider the request with favour, and grant the order. Till that time we must be content to have patience on both sides ; so wishing you well to do, and to betake you to the custody of our Lord,—I am, your loving friend,
Thomas Copley.”

EXPLANATION OF THE MAP ACCOMPANYING THIS PAPER.

No date is affixed to the original in the Record Office, but it contains internal evidence enough to make the approximate date clear. The Act uniting the parishes of St. Margaret and St. Mary Magdalene, Overy, was passed 32 Hen. VIII, 1540-41. From this time the united parishes became St. Saviour's, as in the map, which must therefore have been sketched about, but after, 1541.

Sir Thomas Pope's name appears on the site of Bermondsey Abbey. This abbey was dissolved, and became the property of Sir Robert Southwell in 1541, who the same year passed it on to Sir Thomas Pope. From this and some other internal evidence, I venture to fix the date about 1542, or very soon after.

The modern words are placed in the map to make matters clearer to the reader; some of them are not named in the original, but were in existence about 1542, before or after. The map is in the main outside the actual scope of the paper,—on St. Thomas's Hospital,—but it forms a very interesting and perhaps necessary addition.

Figures are affixed to the old lettered English words: that which now follows will show why this was done.

"The Bell" is noted as being the Chaucerian inn, "highte by the abbard faste by the Belle," yet still in existence in name and place at the time of Rocque's Map, 1746.

1. Baptys House, Baptiste; Churchwarden, 1559. 2. Fowler, house of Bartholomew Fowle, the last Prior. 3. Beere, or Bear Alley. 4. Gates to the Close, the old Priory cloisters, afterwards Montague House. 7. The Church Door, West Door of St. Saviour's. 8. St. Saviour's Church. 9, 10. West and East Chain Gates of St. Saviour's Churchyard. 11. Wytwent (?) House. 12. The Green Dragon, fourteenth century, or hostel of the Cobhams. 13. The Bull's Head. 14. Winchester House, Palace of the Bishops of Winchester. 15. At first the town house of the Abbots of Waverley, afterwards, 1543, of the Bishops of Winchester, now the site of the Borough Market. 16. The way to the backside, ending close to the Globe playhouse in 1599. 17, 19. Foulwell. 18. West Lanc. 20. Cross's Brewhouse; John Crosse, a lead-herseer as to Church goods, St. Saviour's 1548-1552. Southwark was a noted place for brewers and their "nappy ale." 21. Froget's House. Rychard Frogat or Frogatt, Churchwarden, St. Saviour's, 1549. 22. The Court House, part of suppressed St. Margaret's Church.

23. The Market Place. 24. The Pillory and Cage. 25. St. Olave Church. 26. The Brust House (Brewhouse or Bridgehouse). 27. The Ram's Head. 28. Here endeth the liberty of the Mayor and beginneth the King's. 29. Smith's Alley. 30. The Berghené or Petty Burgund. 31. Pillory and Cage. 32. Battle Bridge. 33. Bermondsey Cro. 34. Glen Alley. 35. Here endeth the Mayor and here beginneth the King. 36. Probably the Boar's Head. 37. Probably the Black Swan. 38. The Hospital Church Door (St. Thomas). 39. The Gate of St. Thomas's Hospital. 40. No doubt the hospital building as set forth in the latter part of this paper. 41. The King's Head. 42. The White Hart. 43. The George. 44. The Tabard. 45. Probably the Inn of the Abbot of Hyde. 46. The Crowned or Cross Keys. 47. The Christopher. 48. The Spur. 49. The Horse Head or Nag's Head. 50. The Marshalsea Prison. 51. Probably the Mermaid. 52. The Blue Maid End. Endyt: Danish form of the word. For instance, Mermaid End, and the like. 53. Probably the Half Moon. 54. The King's Bench Prison. The words Lirtaté Barmesé mean, I think, that this was the prison of Lirtaté (Liberty)—a scribe's mistake or abbreviation—and Barmesé (of Bermondsey). 55. Probably the White Lion Prison (Golden Lyon Court and Angel Alley, in Stow's Map, 1720). 56. St. George's Church. 57. The Well. 58. The Bull Ring. 59. The Swan. 60. Bostock House, &c. 61. Kent Street. 62. Jan Jonck House (Yngellis: probably Jan Jonck was naturalised or Anglicised). 63. Long Lane. 64. Dycks (Dikes). 65. Sir Thomas P. 66. St. Mary Magdalen Church, Bermondsey. 67. Here endeth the King's liberty. 68. Mr. Goodyere's House. 69. A Bridge. 70. The Gate (*i.e.*, of Suffolk Park). 71, 74, 77. The Liberty of the Manor (*i.e.*, of Brandon's or Suffolk Manor). 72. The Park (Brandon's). 73. The Manor Place (Brandon's Palace). 75. The Clement. 76. The Goat. 78. The Salutacion. 79. Deadman's Place. 80. The Inner Gate.